114 By his living like an Indian among Indians, Nordenskiöld has in an unparalleled way succeeded in enriching ethnographical science, and his research achievement is one of the most noteworthy in the history of modern South American exploration.

101 The Choroti Indians are also called Chorote, Choloti, Tsoloti, Soloti and Solote. The final »s» added to these tribal names comes from the Spanish plural form, and has therefore in later works rightly been left out. The name they call themselves by is »yófuaha», or »yóshuaha», which probably means »pigeon people». If so, the pigeon would be the totem animal of the Choroti.

After the publishing of the valuable research, made by Hunt, of the Choroti language, it has become necessary to class this tribe with the [197] Mataco group, although the material culture of the Choroti in many respects shows an equally close kinship with the civilization of certain Guaycurú and Mascoi tribes, such as the Toba and the Lengua. That the Choroti have had their abode in the Chaco ever since the Inca period is highly probable, because, as already mentioned, their material culture in a [174] very obvious degree points to a strong influence from the ancient mountain civilization to the west.

101 The section of the Choroti tribe among whom I pursued my study, 131 was at the time of our expedition located in the neighbourhood of Caiza (see map). Some of the Choroti I met in this district had, however, their chief place of resort on the Pilcomayo, and thither they intended to return after a visit to the sugar plantations in northern Argentina. As I have [166] been informed, my red friends from the Caiza region at some later time did something or other to the annoyance of the settlers of the district, whereupon they moved further into the Chaco, and have since that time probably never again come into contact with whites. According to Nordenskiöld, other Choroti have, however, immigrated into the country about Caiza. The main part of the Choroti tribe inhabits the region immediately to the east of the Pilcomayo, and roughly between 21° 45' and 22° 45' of south latitude.

Our main camp, Tatarenda, was situate a few leagues south-west of Caiza, and the Choroti of whom I made a study were located one league south-west of the camp.

000 Of the Choroti among whom I carried out my investigations, the men

[Text continues on p. 31]

1: Rosen E-5 (1901-1902) 1924 SK6 Choroti SK6

534 174 When pointing out that Gustav Bolinder saw music bows being used among the Busintana Indians of the mountain regions of northern Columbia, I made the following statement concerning the occurrence of this instrument in South America: »This music bow (the Busintana one) is almost exactly of the same kind as those in use among many African peoples. But, as we know, peoples who are widely separated from each other may, however, independently of each other make similar inventions. In this particular case there is, however, an additional circumstance which lends it an especial interest. The music bow is by the Busintana called 'marimba',

Fig. 167. Magic drum, consisting of a clay pot, partly filled with water, and with a skin stretched over it. Choroti. Gran Chaco. Bolivia. 1/6. Riksm. 10 3. 143.

a name which also in Africa is given to primitive musical instruments. 'Marimba', 'myrimba', 'marimbo' and 'kirimba' are words which occur in a great many Bantu dialects throughout Central Africa, and in every case signify musical instruments. In view of this fact, I think it not improbable that the use of the marimba was introduced into South America by slaves imported from Africa.«[1]

In a monograph on the music bow of the Busintana, Bolinder has subsequently adduced very strong reasons in support of my supposition that the music bow was actually introduced into South America from Africa in the above indicated manner.[2]

[1] von Rosen (9).
[2] Bolinder (2).

2: Nordenskiöld E-5 (1908-1909)1919
SK6 Choroti SK6
Ashluslay SK5

dor, to whom we are indebted for a detailed account of their manners and customs, calls them Chaná.

As far as we know, the Incas never seem to have conquered the Gran Chaco. Not until the middle or the end of the 15th century, according to tradition[1]) did they conquer the mountainous region between Cochabamba and Sta. Cruz de la Sierra, under Tupac Inca Yupanqui. On the other hand they presumably extended their rule in N. Argentina as far as Tucuman, and therefore to the Chaco Austral.

Thanks to the researches of the distinguished Swedish archaeologist, ERIK BOMAN, and others, numerous objects have been exhumed in N. Argentina which are characteristic of the Incas. MAX UHLE[2]) has proved beyond doubt that the pre-Incan Tiahuanaco or Aymara civilization extended to N. Argentina.

This remarkable civilization, called after the famous Tiahuanaco ruin, also touched the Chaco at another spot. In the district between Cochabamba and Sta. Cruz de la Sierra I found quantities of pottery undoubtedly attributable to the same civilization.[3])

A C 174

This shows us that in studying the history of the Chaco tribes we may expect cultural influences from the Guarani Indians that came from the east, i. e. the Chiriguano, from the Arawaks, i. e. the Chané, and above all from the civilized tract in the west, i e. from the bronze age civilization of the Quichua and Aymara, which in many respects stood so high. Probably, too, cultural influences may have reached the Chaco tribes from the civilized tract in the west through N. Argentina, i. e. by means of the Diaguita and Humahuaca. We might even expect to find among the Choroti and Ashluslay cultural influences deriving from the tribes that in the south inhabited the Argentine pampas.

[1]) NORDENSKIÖLD (12).
[2]) UHLE (3).
[3]) NORDENSKIÖLD (14).

2: Nordenskiöld E-5 (1908-1909) 1919
SK6 Choroti SK6
Ashluslay SK5

To these must be added obvious cultural elements that have come directly or indirectly from the white races. AC 174

The task before us is now to determine, as exactly as possible, these conjectural influences from various sources, and to define their nature and range; also, if possible, to find out from what districts the Choroti and Ashluslay originally started for the tracts they now inhabit. AC 121

To this end I have adopted the method of marking on the map of S. America the geographical distribution of a great number of cultural elements characteristic of the Choroti and Ashluslay, i. e. I have marked on the map, as exactly as possible, the distribution of each cultural element throughout the S. American continent AC 128

I have therefore attempted to draw up maps of the weapons, ornaments, articles of clothing, household utensils, and so on, characteristic of the Choroti and Ashluslay Indians in South America.

I have likewise tried to sketch maps of the distribution of various examples of technical skill exemplified by these Indians. For this purpose I have turned to literary studies, besides utilizing the extensive collections that I made during my travels in S. America.

Thus, for instance, in determining the distribution of a cultural element, I have first mentioned its occurrence among the Indian tribes visited by me personally. These are, in addition to the Ashluslay and the Choroti, the Atsahuaca (in the border-land of Peru and Bolivia), Aymara, Baure, Canichana and Cayubaba (in N. E. Bolivia), Cavina (on the Rio Beni), Chacobo (in N.E. Bolivia), Chama (on the R. Madidi, a tributary of the R. Beni), Chané (on the R. Itiyuro in North Argentina, and the Rio Parapiti in Bolivia) Chimane (on the R. Maniqui, a tributary of the R. Mamoré), Chiriguano, Churápa (near Sa. Cruz de la Sierra), Guarayú (Guarayos, Bolivia), Guarayú-Pauserna, Huanyam and Huari (near the R. Guaporé), Itonama (in N.E. Bolivia) Mataco (in the Gran Chaco), Mosetene (on the R. Beni), AC [114]

2: Nordenskiöld E-5 (1908-1909)1919
SK6 Choroti SK6
Ashluslay SK5

V.

Cultivated Plants and Agricultural Tools.

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The Choroti grow small quantities of Indian corn, manioc, zapallo[1]) water-melon, tobacco, cotton, beans,[2]) calabashes, and sweet potatoes. The tilling of the Ashluslay Indians is more considerable than that of the Choroti. Thus, I have seen among them large manioc plantations. The water-melon, which did not exist in America at the time of the Discovery, reached the Choroti and Ashluslay from the whites. The Choroti call it «santia», from the Spanish «sandía».

A
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Manioc and probably tobacco, too, must have reached the Chaco from the north or the east. Where the Choroti and Ashluslay got the other cultivated plants from, i. e. whether they obtained them from the Bronze Age culture of the west, or not, is a question I do not venture to decide. In all probability they are not very old in the Chaco, for the Choroti and the Ashluslay are but too evidently tribes which are predominantly gatherers of wild fruits and fishermen to have practised agriculture for a long period of time. The peaceful Arawaks must have been largely instrumental in spreading the knowledge of agriculture in the Chaco. AZARA[3]) writes of the Guaná[4]): «Rozan para sembrar tabaco, algodón, mandioca, batatas. . . de que viven y no de la caza ni pesca.»

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[1]) Cucurbita.
[2]) In several varieties.
[3]) (2) p. 384.
[4]) Chané.

2: Nordenskiöld E-5 (1908-1909)1919
SK6 Choroti SK6
Ashluslay SK5
Chaco Indians SK4

A C I 177

25) Various kinds of handiwork.

a) The making of rope and string and spinning. Spindle with a knob on the upper end of the spindle rod. (Map 35) ..... +
b) Sewing or the use of the eyed needle ..... —
c) Knitting and plaiting. Technique 9. (Fig. 60.9) ..... +
d) Twisting of rope and string ..... —
e) Weaving ..... +
f) Pottery ..... —
g) Wood-carving ..... —
h) Bone and shell-bead work ..... —
i) Carving and ornamenting of calabashes .... —
j) Feather work ..... —
k) Leather work ..... —

The undoubted acquisitions of the Choroti and Ashluslay from northern S. America do not amount to very much.

On the other hand, we find a number of important culture-elements among the Chiriguano and Chané Indians who dwell on the borders of the Chaco. Their original home was in the northern part of S. America and they were not taken up by the Choroti, Ashluslay or kindred tribes. These culture-elements include:

Hammocks.

The seat.

Multi-pointed arrows.

Bow with sharply defined notches at the ends.

The panpipe. (Materials found in the Gran Chaco). The Indians may, however, have received the panpipe from the Bronze-Age culture in the west.

Basket work of various kinds.

A C I 174

From this it seems to me perfectly clear that the Choroti and the Ashluslay, like their neighbours the Toba, Mataco, and Lengua, did not migrate from the north to the region

2: Nordenskiöld E-5 (1908-1909) 1919
SK6 Choroti SK6
Ashluslay SK5
Chaco Indians SK4

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they now inhabit. Otherwise their standard of civilization would not be so sharply distinguished from that of the tribes dwelling to the north of them.

If those elements of culture are eliminated which the Choroti and Ashluslay have received from the whites, from the mountain civilization, and from northern and eastern S. America, the remaining culture-elements are certainly, for the most part, very ancient. They are partly culture-elements so widely distributed in S. America that we cannot say whence they originally came, partly culture-elements especially characteristic af the Gran Chaco and not found elsewhere in S. America, and partly such as prove that the Chaco Indians, before they were influenced by the whites, the mountain civilization, and the Chiriguano and Chané Indians, possessed a civilization which was closely connected with that of the Patagonians.

2: Nordenskiöld E-5 (1908-1909) 1919
SK6 Choroti SK6
Ashluslay SK5

XXXIV.

The End.

An endeavour to reconstruct the civilization of the Choroti and Ashluslay Indians before their coming under the immediate, or mediate influence of the whites gives the following results. They kept no cattle. They tilled the ground to no great extent and lived chiefly by collecting wild fruits and by fishing and hunting. They had no iron tools. They probably made their clothes out of caraguatá, cotton, and skins.

Prior to their coming into contact with the «civilized peoples» of western S. America, it is possible that they did not even till the ground, but lived entirely by the gathering of wild fruits, and by hunting and fishing. They had then no knowledge of the Caraguatá shirt, nor of most of the ornaments, musical instruments, games, etc, which they now possess. We may presume that they held their own fairly well in the struggle for life, but their life was poorer than it became after they had learnt the way of making and using a number of «articles of luxury» from the mountain civilization.

In only one respect can the influence from the north and east be said to have essentially modified their civilization, viz. in their having learned to cultivate the manioc and perhaps some other plants as well. Possibly, too, it was from there that they acquired the art of weaving. The occurrence of culture-elements like the fur-mantle, the bowstring of strips of skin, skin mats, etc. — things of small prac-

2: Nordenskiöld E-5 (1908-1909)1919
SK6 Choroti SK6
Ashluslay SK5

tical use in tropical countries — in the Chaco, north of the Tropic of Capricorn, points to the Choroti and Ashluslay having migrated to the Chaco from a district with a colder climate.

As a matter of fact there are, in the Chaco, culture-elements which prove that the Indians well understood how to adapt themselves to the peculiar natural conditions prevailing there.

During my journeys I also carried on investigations, like those I made among the Choroti and Ashluslay, among other tribes visited by me. It appears plainly enough, from the maps and tables I have given above, that the influence of the mountain civilization in N. E. Bolivia was far less marked than in the Chaco.

In N. E. Bolivia also there are Indians who preserve original culture-elements. Such are the Chama Indians, who are not thoroughly settled.

It is much to be desired that all the ethnographical material from S. America, collected in literature and in the museums, might be made the subject of an investigation according to the same method as I have employed here. Anyone possessing a thorough knowledge of a district and its natural conditions would then endeavour to give a clear account of the same. Maps of varying degrees of excellence have been published already, showing the geographical distribution of certain culture-elements, but no attempt has been made to draw up the history of tribes within a given area from the cartographical material at hand. It is important that the endeavour should be made to analyse the cultural life, as a whole, of the tribe or tribes, and not merely some few arbitrarily chosen culture-elements. Further, the investigator should always have actual knowledge of the natural conditions in which the tribe or tribes live.

The maps and information — original and derived from literature on the subject — which I am now publishing will, of course, lighten the labour of those who may study adjacent districts, just as previous accounts of the geographical dis-